

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11  
OIC-02 OES-07 HEW-04 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 SSM-03 TRSE-00  
OMB-01 EB-08 ABF-01 HA-05 MED-02 /143 W  
-----018429 181521Z /50

O 181440Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9792

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07641

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: WHO, IS, XF  
SUBJECT: WHA - STRATEGY FOR MEETING ARAB POLITICIZATION

REF: A. GENEVA 7607, B. GENEVA 7626, C. GENEVA 7006

1. AS WE SEE THE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE IN THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION SHAPING UP, THE USG IS CONFRONTED BY DIFFICULTIES ON TWO LEVELS. ON ONE LEVEL, THERE IS A PROBLEM WHICH IS UNIQUE TO US AND WHICH HAS TO DO WITH OUR CONCERNS FOR THE IMPLICATIONS IN THE SECOND SECTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT THE WHO WILL BE USED AS A CONDUIT FOR RESOURCES FROM ASSESSED BUDGETS TO ENTITIES OTHER THAN MEMBER GOVERNMENTS. AS REPORTED IN A NUMBER OF OUR MESSAGES, WE HAVE MADE A CONCERTED EFFORT AT ALL LEVELS, BUT PARTICULARLY WITH THE ARAB AMBASSADORS THEMSELVES IN GENEVA, TO POINT OUT THAT THIS COULD JEOPARDIZE OUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND THAT WE DON'T THINK THAT THIS WAS AN EFFECT THAT THEY INTENDED. WE HAVE BEEN LISTENED TO WITH INTEREST AND, IN THE CASE OF THE MORE MODERATE ARAB AMBASSADORS WITH APPRECIATION AND SOME CONCERN. WE THINK THAT WE MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THEM TO INTRODUCE  
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MINOR MODIFICATIONS INTO THE DRAFT THAT WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT THE RESOURCES THEY HAVE IN MIND SHOULD BE DIRECTED MAINLY THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS UNWRA AND SHOULD BE VOLUNTARY. WE'LL SEE.

2. ON A SECOND LEVEL, WE HAVE THE QUESTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFRONTATION AND THE "POLITICIZATION" WHICH RE-

SULTS. WE THINK THAT WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO FOCUS ON THE SECOND PHASE OF OUR STRATEGY WHICH SHOULD BE TO DIMINISH SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB RESOLUTION TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, AND IF POSSIBLE, TO DO SO EARLY ENOUGH SO AS POSSIBLY EVEN TO DETER SUCH AN EXCESSIVE RESOLUTION FROM FINALLY BEING INTRODUCED. IT IS IN AN EFFORT TO BUY TIME TO ACHIEVE THIS SECOND OBJECTIVE THAT WE HAVE BEEN BENDING EVERY EFFORT TO GET CONSIDERATION OF THE RESOLUTION DEFERRED.

3. IN GENEVA, THROUGHOUT THE REST OF THE DAY (MAY 18) AND UNTIL THIS ISSUE IS RESOLVED, WE INTEND TO ENGAGE IN AN INTENSIVE SERIES OF MEETINGS AT ALL LEVELS WITH THIRD WORLD REPRESENTATIVES AIMED AT BRINGING TO THEIR ATTENTION THE LONG-TERM DANGER TO THEIR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS OF ALLOWING THE INTEGRITY OF THE WHO TO BE VIOLATED IN THE WAY THE ARABS PLAN. WE FEEL THAT THIS WORK NEEDS TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY A SIMULTANEOUS EFFORT IN THIRD WORLD CAPITALS CONDUCTED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS BY OUR AMBASSADORS WORKING DIRECTLY WITH THEIR FOREIGN OFFICE COUNTERPARTS IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO THIS ISSUE. ACCORDINGLY, WE SUGGEST THAT REFTELS B AND C BE REPEATED AS BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO ALL G-77 CAPITALS THAT ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE. WE WOULD URGE THAT AMBASSADORS BE THEN ASKED TO GO IN WITH TALKING POINTS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

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-- SINCE 1973, THERE HAVE BEEN A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS IN THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION CALLING UPON THE ORGANIZATION TO SEND A COMMITTEE OF HEALTH OFFICIALS TO THE ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT ON HEALTH CONDITIONS.

-- WITHIN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, A COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS MADE UP OF HEALTH OFFICIALS FROM RUMANIA, SENEGAL AND INDONESIA WAS PERMITTED TO DO SO AND PREPARED A REPORT WHICH IS NOW BEFORE THE WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY, A SUMMARY OF WHICH WAS SUPPLIED IN REFTEL C.

-- THE RESPONSE OF THE ARAB STATES HAS BEEN TO TRY TO GET SOLID SUPPORT FROM G-77 COUNTRIES FOR A RESOLUTION WHICH IS NOT CONFINED TO THE REPORT OF THE EXPERTS, BUT WHICH VENTURES INSTEAD INTO SWEEPING CONDEMNATIONS THAT PASS JUDGMENTS OUTSIDE THE COMPETENCE OF THE WHO THAT ARE BASED UPON CONCLUSIONS THAT CANNOT BE DOCUMENTED, HAVE NOT BEEN EXAMINED IN ANY CASE, AND WHICH, THEREFORE, VIOLATE BASIC NOTIONS OF DUE PROCESS. (THESE STATEMENTS ARE PRIMARILY CONCENTRATED IN THE THIRD SECTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION REPORTED REF B.)

-- THIS "POLITICIZATION" OF WHO IS A GROSS VIOLATION OF ITS CONSTITUTION AND PURPOSE, AND RUNS COUNTER TO THE BASIC INTERESTS OF THE MEMBER STATES WHO PARTICIPATE IN IT IN ORDER TO HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL BODY WHICH WOULD CONCENTRATE ON GENUINE HEALTH INTERESTS OF CONCERN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- MOREOVER, IN THE CASE OF THE W.H.O., WITHIN THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS, THE ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN BASICALLY RE-ORIENTED SO THAT, BY 1980, AT LEAST 60 PERCENT OF ITS RESOURCES WILL BE SPENT IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

-- ANY ACTION WHICH DETRACTS FROM THESE PURPOSES OF THE

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9793

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 07641

ORGANIZATION IS AN ACTION WHICH ULTIMATELY DIMINISHES ITS VALUE TO THE THIRD WORLD.

-- IF THE W.H.O. IS PERCEIVED BY THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS AS BEING DIVERTED FROM ITS TRUE PURPOSES IN ORDER TO BECOME THE POLITICAL INSTRUMENT OF ANY BLOC WITHIN IT, THE ABILITY IN THE LONG RUN OF THESE CONTRIBUTORS TO SUPPORT THE ORGANIZATION WILL ACCORDINGLY BE DIMINISHED.

-- WE, THEREFORE, BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF EACH G-77 COUNTRY TO INSTRUCT ITS DELEGATION AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO OPPOSE ANY SUCH EXCESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION IN THE W.H.O.

-- IF, BECAUSE OF THEIR OTHER RELATIONSHIPS, INDIVIDUAL

G-77 COUNTRIES CANNOT BRING THEMSELVES TO OPPOSE THIS RESOLUTION DIRECTLY, THEN IT IS IN THEIR LONG-TERM NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE W.H.O. AT LEAST TO ABSTAIN, AND, AT A MINIMUM, TO ABSENT THEMSELVES WHEN THE ISSUE COMES TO A VOTE.

4. AS MATTERS PRESENTLY STAND, THE FIRST THAT A VOTE CAN  
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BE TAKEN ON THE ARAB RESOLUTION WILL BE SATURDAY MORNING (MAY 20), AND WE MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DEFERRING ACTION UNTIL NEXT WEEK. IT IS IMPERATIVE, THEREFORE, THAT EMBASSIES IN G-77 CAPITALS MAKE THE ABOVE REPRESENTATIONS AND ASK THAT INSTRUCTIONS BE SENT AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

5. FINALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT INFORMATION COPIES OF THIS INSTRUCTION SHOULD GO TO OUR WEO FRIENDS SO THAT THEY WILL BE FULLY APPRISED OF WHAT WE ARE DOING, AND THAT THIS BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN INSTRUCTION TO ASK THEM TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE AMONG THE G-77 TO DIMINISH SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE NOTE FROM LONDON'S 7818 THAT THE BRITISH WOULD LIKE TO WORK TOWARDS AN ABSTENTION RATHER THAN AN OPPOSING VOTE. WE THINK THE ARAB DRAFT WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIALLY TONED DOWN IN ORDER TO ACCEPT THIS OUTCOME AND HAVE SO INFORMED AMBASSADOR KASTOFT, WHO IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EC-9. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE ARABS FIND THE GOING TOUGHER THIS YEAR THAN LAST IN GETTING OUT THE VOTE, THEY MAY BE INDUCED TO BE MORE CAUTIOUS NEXT YEAR. SORENSON

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